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FORWARD LOOKING STRATEGIES FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN IN AFRICA BEYOND THE END OF THE UNITED NATIONS DECADE FOR WOMEN

FOREWORD

This document is being presented as the basic working document prepared under the supervision of the joint OAU/ECA Task Force on the Expert Group Meeting on Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women in Africa Beyond the End of the United Nations Decade for Women. It is meant to guide the experts in their preparation of a final report to be submitted to the Regional Intergovernmental Preparatory Meeting for the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace/Third Regional Conference on the Integration of Women in Development (Arusha, Tanzania, from 8 to 12 October 1984).

This paper is based on the work of Dr. Seyoum Gebre Selassie as a consultant to the Organization of African Unity in close collaboration with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of the ECA or the OAU.

I. Introduction and Background

1. The World Conference of the International Women's Year (Mexico City, 19 June-2 July 1975)was, perhaps, the first attempt, at the global level, to put forward a comprehensive guideline for actions to be taken to realize the goal of enabling women to be effective agents as well as beneficiaries of economic and social development. The guidelines were based on analysis of the social and cultural forces in the world in general and the developing societies in particular which prevented women from making greater contributions to nation building and international peace and solidarity as well as benefiting from national and global development that had, so far, been attained.

2. Assessments of social and cultural realities militating against progress in efforts to enhance the economic and social status of women and ideas on areas of action with reasonable probabilities of success were suggested by the various regions of the world through their respective regional agencies of the United Nations system. The universalities and particularities of the problem were discussed, attempts were made to reconcile ideological differences and positions were taken on the participation of women in nation building and promotion of world peace and prosperity as their inalienable rights within the context of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

3. On the basis of these and other assumptions the conference proposed to nations and the world community a set of actions to be taken between 1975 and 1985 in order to ameliorate the unhappy situation. The purpose of this paper is to:

a) Assess, in so far as availability of data permit, the extent to which the desires and aspiration embodied in the World and Africa Plan of Action were fulfilled.

b) Examine economic and social circumstances that have obtained during the Decade for Women which might have presented both opportunities and challenges in the effort to improve the economic and social status of women in the Africa Region.

c) To propose strategies and areas of action for attention by member States of the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, and the World Community between 1985 and the year 2000.

II. Accomplishments Since 1975 and Problems Encountered

4. The ten year period set out for the implementation of both the World and African Plans of Action could only have been meant to be a time frame within which to overcome the inertia characterizing development efforts calling for a greater degree of women's participation. Many of the actions proposed were essentially of a long term character which are likely to take decades before they fully are implemented. The reasons for this are cultural, social and economic. They are cultural because African societies, like most contemporary world societies, are predominantly patriarchal in terms of power relationships. Traditional African culture, by and large, continues to prescribe the type of gender based division of labour that limits women to the role of wife, mother and housekeeper.

5. The economic situation also provides a more practical explanation of the lack of progress in the realization of the goals of the Decade. Under conditions of lack of economic growth accompanied by growing unemployment and underemployment, traditional sex role proscriptions are invoked for the purpose of removing women from the field of competition. Some honorific positions are purposefully assigned to a few lucky women by way of appeasing advocates of female progress while the majority of women are allowed to drift into greater economic and social marginality.

6. These two powerful factors, patriarchalism and deteriorating economic conditions, are major determinants of what has concretely been achieved since the onset of the United Nations Decade for Women. An assessment of these achievements has been made in the document "Review and Appraisal of the Achievements of and Obstacles Encountered in the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace in Africa" (E/ECA/RCIWD/OAU/4). It appears that the consultants who undertook the studies on which this document was based did not have satisfactory access to the relevant information that would enable them to make objective assessments of what successes have been achieved in the attainment of the goals specified in both the world and Africa plans of action. As a consequence they were, in some cases, forced to describe situations prior to the enactment of the plans of action and use these data as bases for expressing opinions about degrees of success during the ten year period between 1976 and 1985.

A. Education and Training

7. With regard to education and training, it was noted that governments in the region have made considerable efforts to improve the educational status of girls and women.

8. There has been a great increase in the enrolment of girls at the primary level. At the secondary level female participation rates have more than tripled, while those of boys have doubled. Tertiary level ratios increased nearly sixfold for girls. Great strides have been made in reducing the illiteracy rates of women. In addition to the evidence regarding this cited in "Review and Appraisal", the Government of Ethiopia in 1979 launched a massive an illiteracy programme, in which a large majority of the participants were female, which reduced illiteracy from a high of close to 92 per cent in 1974 to less than 40 per cent by the end of 1983.

9. Although the achievements between 1970 and 1980 are quite significant, it is difficult to link these salutary changes with the plans of action. Numerous obstacles remain. Drop out and attrition rates are still considerably higher for females than males - a phenomenon attributed to early marriage and accidental premarital pregnancies. Under conditions of scarce family resources, parents continue to give priority to the education of sons over that of daughters. Another difficulty is a high degree of gender segregation at secondary level, with the result that males and females are prepared for different vocations requiring gender specific sets of skills. By and large female access to education in technical areas and in the hard sciences reamins limited.

B. Agriculture and Rural Development

10. One of the major features of underdevelopment is the dominance of traditional agriculture. It is for this reason that current development theory stresses the importance of integrated rural development in generating self-sustaining internal development.

11. That agriculture is the mainstay of African economies becomes even more apparent when one considers that by about 1980, 72% of the total population depended on it for its livelihood (ECA 1983:7). In spite of efforts in planned development since the dawn of the era of independence no breakthrough has been achieved in terms of turning agriculture into a springboard for further development in other sectors of the economy. Estimated growth rate in agricultural production in the decade of the 1980s was 2.3% per annum while in the 1970s it averaged 1.3% per annum -- less than half the estimated rate of growth in population of 2.7% (the World Bank 1982: 45). While this depicts a scenario of deteriorating situation in agriculture in general the food production picture is even bleaker. In the 1970s population grew at an average rate of 2.8% per annum while food production grew at about 1.5% per annum (ECA 1983: 8). This had the effect of reducing the food sufficiency ratio from 98% in the 1960s to 86% in the 1970s. The consequences of this for the nutritional status of the population, for health conditions and for productivity are obvious. That the situation is getting worse is amply demonstrated by the widespread problems of food shortages experienced in practically all parts of the region at present. It is this worsening situation that proompted the Director-General of the FAO to declare emphatically at a recent FAO Regional Conference held in Harare that Africa is headed for disaster. It is this same realization of worsening situations that prompted the Tenth Meeting of the ECA Conference of Ministers responsible for Economic Planning and Development to submit a special memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis to the Economics and Social Council of the United Nations (second Regular Session 1984) and to the 20th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity. In this memorandum it is stated that the crisis assumed critical proportions in the early 1980s because of the interacting effects of: a) widespread, severe, and persistent drought" and (b) the rapidly deteriorating international economic environment" (UN 1984: 7).

12. It is against this generally bleak background that the attainment of goals relative to that aspect of the African Plan of Action calling for a greater integration of women in rural development in general and in agricultural development in particular, must be examined.

13. The Second Extraordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government noted, "...that actions taken during the first half of the women's Decade were not enough, in spite of the efforts which have been made within Africa" (OAU 1981: 111). This view was reinforced by the observation in the Review and Appraisal of the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women (ECA 1984: 37) which noted that several factors contributed to the less than satisfactory performance in respect to the integration of women in development.

1) the continuing high rate of rural to urban migration;

2) the lack of improvement in agricultural technology;

3) the low priorities African governments have accorded to the food production subsector;

4) inadequate efforts by governments in supplying producers in this sector with modern inputs;

5) rapid population growth and the resultant imbalance between population and land and other resources;

6) deterioration in the quality of land as a result of over cultivation and irrational land use practices;

7) agricultural price policy serving as a disincentive to industriousness and better productivity;

8) the continuing inflow of imported food and food aid creating a dependency mentality.

14. To these must be added the inability and indeed, the unwillingness and the failure of governments to develop internal resource mobilizational capacity that will enable them to respond to crises effectively. Since women take the lion's share of food production activity in many parts of Africa, the all round deterioration experienced in this sector cannot fail to adversely affect their capacity to contribute to its development.

15. While the above affect the productivity and well being of the entire rural population, women's productive involvement in bringing about desired changes in rural socio-economic structure is affected by factors such as the following:

a) Limited access to information and training in modern agricultural practices

16. Governments, by and large, continue to ignore women's role as agricultural producers and direct most attention of extension services to males. When the extension service addresses women it is to impart to them skills in home economics, crafts, etc. which are not of much use to them as producers of food crops.

b) Limited access to land, credit and modern technology

17. It is one of the characteristics of patriarchal societies for land and immovable property to be inherited along the male line. This holds true for a number of, if not all African societies. But even in those societies where agricultural land is allocated to women, they have no control over what they produce. Custom requires that whatever women produce is used for household consumption. This, naturally, limits women to the role of producing things for immediate consumption. This set of activities is often judged not to require any major investment -- an attitude substantially contributing to the continuing backwardness of the agricultural sector in general and food production in particular.

18. Ownership of land has serious implications for women's access to credit and appropriate technology. Since title to ownership of land is a male prerogative women's inability to offer collateral effectively bars them from institutional credit. Without credit, application of improved production technology is not possible. Men use their better access to institutional credit for their own purposes and this forces women to resort to non-formal sources of credit such as

relatively well-to-do relatives or money lenders who, more often than not, charge exorbitant rates of interest. All these contribute to the deterioration of labour and land productivity in the food production sector and further deterioration of living conditions in rural areas.

19. In general, attempts to assist women to play greater roles in the monetization of the rural economy rather modest. This may, in part be due to the socio-economic conditions experienced by most African countries in recent decades, as well as agricultural policy that tends to accord low priority to the food sector. The neglect of the food sector is one of the major causes of the deterioration of general socio-economic conditions in the region.

C. Employment

20. Wage/salary employment is an area of activity from which women have traditionally been, by and large, excluded and continue to be excluded. The question, therefore, is not so much whether or not women are engaged in socially useful labour, but rather a question of whether their labour is justly rewarded and also whether the conditions for greater contributions leading to even greater rewards are being created.

21. Among the consequences of deteriorating economic and social conditions in the region in the 1970s and the present decade are worsening unemployment and under-employment. Under such conditions those in the socio-economic periphery are likely to be hit hardest. These include those who are in the subsistence sector and wish to enter the market sector and those who are first time job seekers, largely youths of both sexes.

22. By way of examples it is useful to look at labour force data since the enactment of the Africa Plan of Action in 1975. Although, admittedly, employment data are scarce and generally, not of a high degree of reliability, they nevertheless permit a more or less objective assessment of current realities which in turn is likely to lead to more sober proposals for action in the future.

23. In tables 1 through 4 labour force participation data are reported for Cameroon and Egypt. for which data are available for the mid 1970s and early 1980s and Malawi and Tunisia for which data are available for around the mid 1970s. At the level of generalities the cautious point can be made that there are differences between north African and sub-Saharan countries in the size of the wages/salary sector of employment. The data in table 1 depict an employment picture dominated by own account workers in Cameroon (1976) with this group accounting for 60.1% of total employment, and in Malawi (1977) with this sector representing 79.9% of total employment. On the other hand in Egypt (1976) and Tunisia (1977) this sector contributed 26.1% and 25.1% respectively. In 1982 the share of own account employment in the Cameroon remained practically the same as in 1976 (60.2%). This sector's share in total employment rose to 28.2% in Egypt in 1980.

24. In 1976 the wages/salary sector contributed 14.2% of total employment in the Cameroon and 17.8% in Malawi (1977). The wage/salary sector in Egypt (1976) and Tunisia (1975) contributed 59.8% and 53.7% respectively. While Cameroon's record in this remained almost the same in 1982 (14.6%) that of Egypt showed a decline in 1980 (53.9%). No data are available for Malawi and Tunisia for more recent years.

Table 1 (A): Percent Distribution of Total Labour Force by Type of Employment N = 4

Country	Own Account		Salaried		Unpaid family		Ill defined status	
	t_1	t_2	t_1	t_2	t_1	t_2	t_1	t_2
Cameroon t_1 = 1976 t_2 = 1982	60.1	60.2	14.2	14.6	18.6	18.0	7.1	7.1
Egypt t_1 = 1976 t_2 = 1980	26.1	28.2	59.8	53.9	5.6	12.7	8.5	5.2
Malawi t_1 = 1977 t_2 =	79.9	-	17.8	-	0.3	-	2.0	-
Tunisia t_1 = 1975 t_2	25.1	-	53.7	-	6.9	-	14.4	-

Table 1 (B): Gender Specific Percent Distribution of Total Labour Force By Type of Employment M = 1

	Own Account				Salaried				Unpaid family				Ill Defined Status			
	t_1		t_2		t_1		t_2		t_1		t_2		t_1		t_2	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Cameroon	61.1	58.6	61.2	58.7	21.4	8.5	21.3	3.4	21.3	3.5	9.2	32.7	8.3	5.1	8.3	5.1
Egypt	28.1	6.6	29.7	12.0	60.0	57.8	52.6	66.0	5.6	5.6	13.6	2.8	6.4	30.0	3.9	19.2
Malawi	67.0	94.9	-	-	29.9	3.6	-	-	0.3	0.3	-	-	2.8	1.2	-	-
Tunisia	24.7	26.8	-	-	57.5	37.0	-	-	3.8	20.4	-	-	14.1	15.8	-	-

Source: Tables 1(A) 1(B): Calculated from data ILO, Year Book of Labour Statistics 1982 and 1983

25. Unpaid family work accounted for 18.6% of total employment in the Cameroon (1976) and this slightly went down to 18.0% in 1982. In Egypt this sector's contribution to total employment went up from 5.6% in 1976 to 12.7% in 1980. Malawi registered a negligible contribution of only 0.3% to total employment. Tunisia reported a 6.9% contribution from this sector in 1975.

26. Employment of persons with ill defined status represented 7.1% of total employment in the Cameroon (1976), 8.5% in Egypt (1976), 2.0% in Malawi (1977) and 14.4% in Tunisia (1975). The same proportion held in the Cameroon in 1982 and went down to 5.2% in Egypt in 1980.

Gender specific Labour Force Participation Rates (Table 1 (B)

27. The real test for the extent to which women's socio-economic status is improving or not is their participation in wage/salary employment. Though the data in Table 1(B) are for 4 countries only the picture of female access to various types of employment is instructive. At the most general level females in the Cameroon and Malawi seem to have the greatest access to employment via the own account category. On the other hand in Egypt and Tunisia, the greatest access of women to employment is provided by the wage/salary sector.

28. There, indeed, appears to be a positive association between the pattern of the distribution of total employment (both sexes) by type of employment and the pattern of gender specific distribution of total employment by type of employment. In the Cameroon 58.6% of total female employment is contributed by the own-account category. A similar association obtains in the case of Malawi. In Egypt and Tunisia 57.8% and 37.0% of total female employment are accounted for by the wages sector.

29. On theoretical grounds wages/salary employment offers a reasonable stable and predictable opportunity for personal advancement. The fact that high proportions of females who are economically active are in this category suggests that the gender structure of opportunities for gainful employment in Egypt and Tunisia are less discriminatory than one would have thought. But as is often the case, in less developed societies, this sector is dominated by services related jobs such as custodial and janitorial positions that require little or no skill, offering little or no opportunity for upward mobility. Thus high female participation rates in this category do not provide sufficient reason for jubilation.

30. The high female participation rates in the own account activity in the Cameroon and Malawi present similar problems. By and large, they are small scale activities and as such cannot be presumed to be organization intensive and technology intensive. These limitation prevent them from offering adequate opportunities for upward mobility to individuals involved in them. Thus high female participation rates in this category is no sufficient reason for jubilation either.

Share of women in various types of employment (Table 2)

31. The female employment picture depicted by the data in table 2 below are not altogether unexpected. The plain fact is that in the general as in the specific aspects of employment, women are in a minority except in the cases of the Cameroon, Malawi and Tunisia where they surpass males in unpaid family employment and own account activity.

Table 2: Share of women in Various Types of Employment - mid 1970s and early 1980s

Country	Own account		Salaried		Unpaid family		Ill defined status	
	t_1	t_2	t_1	t_2	t_1	t_2	t_1	t_2
Cameroon t_1 = 1976 t2 =	39.0	36.5	9.9	9.0	70.0	68.1	29.0	27.0
Egypt t_1 = 1976 t_2 = 1980	2.2	3.5	9.4	10.2	-	1.8	22.5	30.8
Malawi t_1 = 1977 t_2 =	54.8	-	9.4	-	49.7	-	26.3	-
Tunisia t = 1975	20.0	-	12.9	-	55.3	-	20.5	-

Source: Calculated from data in Appendix Table 1 & 2

32. It is a mark of their deprived status in employment that in the Cameroon 70.0% in 1976 and 68.1% in 1982 of unpaid family workers are women. They suffer from similar, if not identical, fates in Malawi and Tunisia. While in the Cameroon the minority status of women in the wages sector is quite evident this is the case in Egypt across employment types. Tunisia shares many of the characteristics of Egypt in terms of the socio-economic status of women though to somewhat lesser degree. The question that forces itself on the observer is that in countries like Egypt, if women are in such a minority in so far as economic activities are concerned, what do they do? As has often been stated it is not that most women do not do anything. The problem is rather one of lack of recognition of what they do. This is one of the many issues which both the World and the Africa Plans of Action wanted addressed by nations and the international community.

Gender Specific Distribution of the Labour Force by Industry

33. The statement is often made that the economically active female population is heavily concentrated in traditional agriculture and associated activities in rural areas and in the rather amorphously mixed bag of survival known as the informal sector in urban areas. The more organized sectors of employment such as modern agriculture, manufacturing,etc. are thought of as proper male fiefdoms. In spite of problems of reliability ,available data, even if only for a limited number of countries, tend to bear out the hunch.

34. Data reported in Table 3 below provide sufficient grounds for the cautious conclusion that:

a) In the three sub-Saharan countries of the Cameroon, Liberia and Malawi the highest concentration of females is in agriculture, hunting forestry etc., followed by the ill defined category (Cameroon), by wholesale and retail trade (Liberia), and the ill defined category (Malawi). The third place is taken by the first time job seekers in all the three countries. The 4th place is taken by community, social and personal services (Liberia and Malawi).

b) In the Cameroon, Egypt and Malawi the second highest concentration of females is in the ill defined category.

c) In the Cameroon, Liberia and Tunisia the third highest concentration is in the first time job seekers category.

d) In Liberia, Malawi and Tunisia the fourth highest concentration is in community, social and personal services.

e) In the Cameroon, Egypt and Tunisia the least concentration of females is found in construction.

35. The point in this discussion of concentration is to identify those industry groups where there is heavy concentration of females. A possible use of this effort is to determine the nature of intervention (training, technology, etc.) required to enhance worker productivity in those areas where women are heavily concentrated and to use these as springboards for further development. A rough conclusion to be drawn from this discussion of concentration is that women in these 5 countries are heavily concentrated in the least organized and least technology intensive types of activities. These are also some of the areas of employment which offer considerable opportunities for improvement in the economic and eventually also social status for women in some of these countries.

Table 3: Percent Distribution of the Labour Force by Industry Mid 1970s to Early 1980s by Sex No. 5 .

Industry Major Groups	CAMEROON						EGYPT						LIBERIA			MALAWI			TUNISIA		
	1976			1982			1976			1980			1974			1977			1975		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
1. Agri. hunting etc.	100.0	95.2	4.8	100.0	55.3	44.7	100.0	96.8	3.2	100.0	98.4	1.6	100.0	68.6	31.4	100.0	48.4	51.6	100.0	86.8	13 2
2. Mining & Quarrying	100.0	94.4	5.6	100.0	94.9	5.1	100.0	95.6	4.4	100.0	89.4	10.6	100.0	96.8	3.2	100.0	98.4	1.6	100.0	98.4	1.6
3. Manufacturing	100.0	78.9	21.1	100.0	80.5	19.5	100.0	93.4	6.6	100.0	94.8	5.2	100.0	95.1	4.9	100.0	82.2	17.8	100.0	48.1	51.9
4. Utilities	100.0	95.8	4.2	100.0	96.0	4.0	100.0	92.6	7.4	100.0	94.3	5.7	100.0	97.1	2.9	100.0	95.0	5.0	100.0	95.5	4.5
5. Construction	100.0	98.5	1.5	100.0	98.6	1.4	100.0	98.3	1.7	100.0	98.6	1.4	100.0	98.0	2.0	100.0	94.8	5.2	100.0	99.2	0.8
6. Whole sale trade etc.	100.0	74.8	25.2	100.0	76.8	23.2	100.0	94.3	5.7	100.0	94.6	5.4	100.0	72.0	28.0	100.0	80.1	19.9	100.0	94.0	6.0
7. Transport Shortage etc.	100.0	98.0	2.0	100.0	98.1	1.9	100.0	96.7	3.3	100.0	94.5	5.5	100.0	97.9	2.1	100.0	97.3	2.7	100.0	95.0	5.0
8. Finance, Insurance etc.	100.0	86.5	13.5	100.0	87.3	12.7	100.0	81.2	18.8	100.0	84.0	16.0	100.0	86.8	13.2	100.0	85.1	14.9	100.0	75.4	24.6
9. Comm. Soc. Personal Ser.	100.0	87.1	12.9	100.0	88.2	11.8	100.0	78.6	21.4	100.0	80.7	19.3	100.0	84.7	15.3	100.0	81.4	18.6	100.0	78.0	22.0
10. Ill Defined	100.0	67.6	32.4	100.0	69.8	30.2	100.0	83.0	17.0	100.0	71.5	28.5	-	-	-	100.0	70.1	29.9	100.0	87.0	13.0
First time Job seekers	100.0	71.6	28.4	100.0	73.9	26.1	100.0	64.6	35.4	100.0	67.0	33.0	100.0	74.4	25.6	-	-	-	100.0	77.0	23.0
T O T A L	100.0	60.0	40.0	100.0	62.5	37.5	100.0	91.1	8.9	100.0	91.7	8.3	100.0	73.2	26.8	100.0	53.8	46.2	100.0	81.3	18.7

Source : Calculated from Data, Reported in Appendix Tables 1 & 2.

Gender Specific Occupational Distribution of the Labour Force

36. The degree of accessability of women to decision making and to technical and scientific professions is an important determinant of the prospects of enhanced contribution of women to national development. This, in turn, is a function of the degree to which educational systems are free of any form of discrimination in their structure of curricula and admissions policy.

37. The point was made earlier on the basis of cursory observations by those who did the review and assessment of efforts at integrating women in development since 1975, that although substantial progress has been made in terms of enrolment ratios for females, very slow progress is recorded in increasing female participation in managerial, technical and scientific training.

38. This is, in fact, reflected in the gender specific occupational distribution of the labour force, in at least 4 countries for which such data are available since 1975. Such data are reported in table 4 below. On theoretical grounds high participation in the professional and technical, managerial and administrative categories implies involvement in activities that permit full expression of creative and inventive potential and involvement in the development and implementation of policy affecting the direction of development and change, other things being equal.

39. The double digit percentages reported for all the countries in respect to women's share in the professional and technical category could be misleading. In a gender segregated occupational structure the likelihood is that women in this category are heavily concentrated in vocations such as nursing, home-economics and activities of a similar nature. While such activities have useful socio-economic functions they can, by no means, be considered as adequately providing a complete range of opportunities for realizing women's creative potential. The lesson to be drawn from this is that even if the percentages appear to increase, over time, they do not provide much cause for comfort, so long as a system of qualitative segregation remains intact. Two conclusions may be drawn from the experiences of the 4 countries. First,women have limited access to positions that permit upward mobility in the occupational ladder; second, women's role in decision making is minimal.

Employment in the Manufacturing Sector

40. Programmes of industrialization that characterize the contemporary African scene are the import-substitution type and very few countries, if any at all, have moved into intermediate industries. As a result, the so called modern sector is characterized by spotty enclaves of modern economic activity capable of making only small contribution to GDP and employment. The lack of progress in this sector is attributed to a number of factors (World Bank 1982: 92-93) such as: a small market, a rather inelastic effective demand caused, primarily, by low per capita income, low worker productivity, excessive dependence on expatriate managerial skills, the high cost of investment and the type of industrialization policy that pays inadequate attention to the need for the type of industrialization that takes into account the pecularities of the regions factor endowments.

Table 1: Occupational Distribution of the Labour Force Mid 1970s to Early 1980s By Sex (Percent) N - 4

Major Occupation Groups	CAMEROON						EGYPT						MALAWI			TUNISIA					
	1976			1982			1976			1980			1977			1975			1980		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
0/1 Professional & Technical	100.0	82.2	17.8	100.0	86.9	14.0	100.0	74.9	25.1	100.0	71.6	28.4	100.0	74.3	25.7	100.0	77.8	22.2	100.0	85.8	14.2
2 Admini. & Managerial	100.0	93.9	6.1	100.0	94.3	5.7	100.0	88.9	11.1	100.0	87.7	12.3	100.0	94.0	6.0	100.0	95.1	4.9	100.0	78.8	21.2
3 Clerical	100.0	83.3	16.7	100.0	85.6	14.4	100.0	80.7	19.3	100.0	75.1	24.9	100.0	86.7	13.3	100.0	80.0	20.0	100.0		
4 Sales	100.0	70.0	30.0	100.0	72.2	27.8	100.0	94.8	5.2	100.0	95.2	4.8	100.0	80.2	19.8	100.0	96.5	3.5	100.0	98.7	1.3
5 Service	100.0	80.9	19.1	100.0	84.3	15.7	100.0	92.2	7.8	100.0	93.7	6.3	100.0	81.1	18.9	100.0	71.6	28.4	100.0	77.1	22.9
6 Agri.Animal Husbandry etc.	100.0	52.7	47.3	100.0	54.8	45.2	100.0	98.5	2.0	100.0	98.5	1.5	100.0	47.7	52.3	100.0	85.8	13.2	100.0	79.8	20.2
7/8/9 Production & Related	100.0	58.0	42.0	100.0	91.8	8.2	100.0	97.2	2.8	100.0	97.7	2.3	100.0	90.3	9.7	100.0	76.1	23.9	100.0	77.9	22.1
X Non-Classifiable	100.0	58.0	42.0	100.0	63.9	36.1	100.0	75.7	24.3	100.0	78.6	21.4	100.0	69.2	30.8	100.0	86.1	13.9	100.0	86.2	13.8
- First Time Job Seekers	100.0	71.6	28.4	100.0	73.9	26.1				100.0	67.0	33.0	100.0	-	-	100.0	77.0	23.0	100.0	-	-
Total	100.0	60.0	40.0	100.0	62.5	37.5	100.0	92.7	7.3	100.0	91.7	8.3	100.0	53.8	46.2	100.0	81.3	18.7	100.0	79.9	20.1

SOURCE: Calculated from Data Reported in Appendix Tables 2 & 3

41. The low rate at which industrialization is taking place is also accounted for by the fact that African countries could not effectively penetrate the export market for manufactured goods (ECA 1984: 1; World Bank 1982: 94) as illustrated by the fact that in 1977 Africa contributed only 0.2% of world manufactured exports (World Bank 1982: 94). It is the realization of this situation that prompted member States of the Organization of African Unity to declare the 1980 to 1990 period as "the Industrial Development Decade in Africa" (OAU: 1981; 19).

42. It is against this background that the role of African women in the industrialization effort since 1975 must be assessed. An examination of gender specific distribution of the labour force by industry (Table 2 above) has revealed that in at least, 4 countries employment in manufacturing represented a very small proportion of the total economically active population. This general situation provides, at least circumstantial evidence for the conclusion that the region, as a whole, could not have made much head away in terms of increased incorporation of women in this sector.

43. The topic of women and industrialization in the region has also been investigated in depth in E/ECA/RCIWD/OAU/6. The paper identifies a number of problems women face in the industrial sector, including the following:

a) Women account for small proportions of the economically active population employed in the modern sector; these numbers, however, have increased in recent years;

b) Women workers in the manufacturing sector are generally concentrated in the light industries category;

c) In some countries women have been displaced from industries, such as textiles, where they generally have provided a large percentage of the workforce, by men due to inadequate expansion of employment in heavier industries;

d) Women generally earn lower wages than men workers, reflecting their concentration in low skill positions,

e) Few women are found in intermediate technical and trade positions, as a result of their limited access to technical and vocational training facilities;

f) Women are poorly represented in union activities.

44. The conclusion that can be drawn from an inspection of this scenario is that manufacturing industry is not yet in a position to offer active roles to women of the Africa region. If, however, women are to make meaningful contributions to genuine industrial development, higher educational institutions and research and development facilities should make special efforts to look for creative potential and talent across gender boundaries. By continuing to invoke cultural imperatives in excluding women from mainstream activity, the region is depriving itself of a potential source of creativity.

D. Health and Nutrition

45. The achievement of adequate standards of health and nutrition continue to present serious problems for most of the region's population. Life expectancy at birth is still the lowest of any region in the world. Infant mortality is about 150 per 1,000 live births. The average daily caloric intake in sub-Saharan Africa supplies only about 80 per cent of daily requirements. Existing health care delivery systems have not done much to minimize these problems, since they are concentrated mainly in or around urban areas and are remedial rather than preventive. However, considerable strides have been made in many countries of the region to improve health facilities and to provide primary health care.

46. The relevance of discussing health and related issues in relation to women's involvement in socio-economic development lies in the fact that women are not only affected by it but are also responsible in large measure for the health and nutritional status of their families. Problems of water supply affect women more than others as they are the gatherers of water.

47. Great areas for action remain in regard to health, nutrition, sanitation and water supply for women and their families. Progress is likely to be slow in most countries because there is so much to be done in all aspects of socio-economic development and the competing demands for resources are so great that governments have to make hard and painful choices with regard to resource allocation.

III. SUMMARY AND FORWARD LOOKING STRATEGIES

48. The economic and social conditions prevailing in the Africa region are important determinants of what can and cannot be done about raising the socio-economic status of its women. No thoughtful person in Africa or elsewhere can dispute the need for creating conditions under which men and women can enjoy basic human rights and receive equal protection before the law. But it is the real or imagined scarcity of resources of all kinds (land, employment, educational facilities, etc.) that unconsciously prompt those who control power to invoke cultural imperatives to restrict access of women in highly valued resources. There is also this fear, real in the minds of males, if not empirical, that the changing of the traditional system of gender-based division of labour might threaten the integrity of the family as it is known today. This system is based on the notions of male authority and female submission to this authority. Economic and social independence of women tends to threaten the sex pattern of the distribution of power. Even advanced education cannot be counted on to free males from such fears, because advanced education being, by and large, of western origin is itself based on patriarchal world views.

49. There are, at least, three important conclusions to be drawn from this analysis. The first is that there is very little that Africa can learn from the industrialized societies in terms of making the sex pattern of the enjoyment of human rights equitable. Secondly, the placement of women in few honorific posts in government, business and industry often represents a face **lift** rather than a fundamental change. More often than not, women in high decision-making positions are prevented from making significant impact on policy vitally affecting their life chances by reason of their being a minority. They are made to comply with the status quo through either lucrative inducements or threats of withdrawal of such inducements. Thirdly because, in many societies, women still have a faulty understanding of the vital role they play in economic and social life in both rural and urban areas, they often fail from force of habit to use these as real leverage in influencing policy that may increase their access to the means leading to greater economic and social power. It is an accepted fact that, in many subsaharan societies, women play from equal to dominant roles in the process of food production. Because of their failure to forcefully affirm the importance of this role they have allowed men to **proscribe** their access to the kind of technologies and skills that are likely to make this sector an economic force to reckon with. There is no other conceivable reason why the cash economy cannot penetrate the food production and distribution sector. The relatively powerful position of the industrial crop sector is due to the fact that it is monetized and market oriented. Women must demand this in forceful terms if they are to play decisive roles in the economic and social development of the region.

50. The last point is important, not only in terms of its potential contribution to women's increasing enjoyment of basic human rights but also in terms of its contribution to the raising of their economic social, and political status. They have to demand an opportunity to demonstrate that intelligence and creativity are not exclusively male attributes and society and governments are morally obliged to create conditions that will enable them to do so.

51. While the cultural situation summarized above impede efforts at integrating women in development, the economic, social and demographic situations obtaining in the region today feed the inclination, on the part of policy makers to resort to appealing to tradition to justify women's exclusion from active participation of women in the affairs of society. If any headway is to be made in the effort to effectively integrate women in development these adverse conditions have to be removed. Among these conditions are:

(a) The continuing deterioration of the economic conditions and the resultant increase in the region's dependence on the outside world for the transfer of the basic means of subsistence;

(b) The rapid population growth that is placing considerable strains on the population resource balance;

(c) The continuing tendency to limit female access to the type of education that places science and technology at their disposal stunting the development of their inventive ability;

(d) The continuing existence of legal systems dominated by customary practices that, by and large, deny women access to the means of production and their unimpeded use and control over the products of their labour;

(e) The heavy burden of female responsibility as wives, mothers and housekeepers in addition to the requirement that they do as much, if not always more than they do out in the farm or in the market, without the benefit of labour and timing saving devices;

(f) The lack of an effective mechanism by which women's interests are directed upwards as inputs to policy formulation.

52. All these and others contribute not only to the continuing marginalization of women but also to the progressively declining levels of productivity of the economically active population and the deteriorating living conditions for the people as a whole.

53. If total disaster is to be avoided African men and women should work together in preventing it. To this end the following are strongly recommended:

A. Reversal of the Deteriorating Economic Situation

54. It is important to stress in this connection that agriculture is the spring-board from which the region can hurl itself into other areas of development. Because of the lack of development in this sector and the alarming deterioration it has been experiencing for the last decade or more, Africa is becoming increasingly dependent on foreign sources of food and industrial raw materials to feed its rapidly growing population and the import substitution industries that currently dominate the region's

industrialization programme. This is done at a level of cost that no African country can afford and it is reflected in the negative balance of trade that is affecting the region at the moment. Rational and well conceived rural development programmes offer solutions to this problem, if the following conditions are fulfilled:

Member States should adopt agricultural policies that would equally stimulate greater productivity in both the food and the industrial crop production sectors by:

(i) ensuring an equitable flow of improved technologies and modern inputs to both sectors;

(ii) expanding research activities focusing on the development of crop types adaptable to varying weather conditions and laying down organizational mechanisms by which results of research are disseminated, popularized and utilized;

(iii) designing programmes of work that would employ underutilized manpower in the construction of irrigation systems (where this is feasible), soil conservation work, afforestation and feeder road construction, fisheries, etc.

(iv) improving animal husbandry through governmental and non-governmental efforts by:

a) experimentation in cross-breeding;

b) establishing small scale dairy processing networks to promote the production of dairy products not only for householdconsumption but also to meet the growing demands in towns and cities;

(v) increasing efforts by governmental, non-governmental organizations in conjunction with local community efforts in increasing the quantity and quality of the products of handicrafts and small scale industries with the aim of meeting domestic demands for household utensils and furnishings which heretofore are largely imported;

(vi) undertaking programmes of industrialization designed to develop processing capacity of natural resources such as (mineral purification plants), processing, preserving and canning of perishable products such as fruits, vegetables, etc.

(vii) organizing those engaged in food production into multipurpose co-operatives with the aim of enabling farmers (males and females) to pool available human resources to increases their access to improved production technologies including: farm equipment, improved seeds, fertilizers, credits through a co-operative banking system;

(viii) assisting such co-operatives in ways and means of improving community infrastructure, such as community water supply systems, developing, experimenting and pupularizing alternative sources of energy such as biogas and plan a long term project of harnessing the sun as a reliable source of energy for household use;

(ix) helping co-operatives in mobilizing local resources with technical and material assistance from central government, in providing clusters of communities with primary health care facilities providing comprehensive services including: health education, nutrition education, environmental and personal hygienne, education in responsible parenthood and in the provision of an adequate network for effective family planning;

(x) promoting greater industriousness and increasing productivity in the food production sector by formulating and putting into force price policies ensuring satisfactory returns to the producer and to this end eliminating all bureaucratic bottlenecks which are likely to discourage the entrepreneurial spirit;

(xi) helping co-operatives to increase their marketing roles by assisting them to form a federal marketing structure to facilitate the procurement of production related supplies, consumer goods and the marketing of agricultural products, and products of handicraft and cottage industries;

(xii) providing tax incentives to co-operatives, at least in their early stages of development.

B. Restoring the Population-resource Equilibrium

55. It is often argued that Africa is more sparsely populated than any other major region except, perhaps, for Oceania. This judgment derives its persuasiveness from the observation that the average density of the population in the region is quite low, the region's natural resources are virtually untapped; many countries are small in terms of both land area and population, and most countries are too small to have a viable industrial system of their own.

56. Because of its rudimentary capacity to transform natural resources into usable commodities Africa is unable to adequately take care of its population. Both unemployment and underemployment are unacceptably high. Labour productivity in both the traditional and modern sectors instead of increasing is declining. The nutritional status of the population is declining. In the face of inadequate technological and social organizational development to assist the development and diversification of resources at more rapid rates than population the region faces a Malthusian spectre, the implications of which are painful to contemplate. From this point of view Africa is over populated.

57. Restoring the pupulation-resource equilibrium must, of necessity, depend on reliable knowledge of population sizes, their spatial distribution, their distribution by such biological characteristics, as age and sex, and by socio-economic characteristics such as income, employment status literacy levels and educational attainment, etc. The importance of having a fairly accurate knowledge of how fast and how slow it is growing is too well known to need reemphasizing.

58. In respect to population, therefore, a variety of actions are called for:

(a) at local, provincial and national levels population registration mechanisms should be established to generate data on various population related variables such as: marriage, birth, death, migration, occupation, labour force status, income and education;

(b) such data should be amendable to tabulation by such characteristics as age and sex;

(c) periodic sample surveys should be conducted on the basis of population registration data to determine trends in the relationship between socio-economic and demographic variables;

(d) provide health delivery institutions with facilities that will enable them to record simple morbidity and mortality data to facilitate the determination of the major causes of morbidity and mortality;

(e) provide population education through formal and non-formal media about population and resource utilization, population and individual welfare, population and family welfare etc.;

(f) provide information on a variety of ways and means of regulating fertility and the likely impact of this on women's chances of being actively involved in the development of their communities and the nation.

C. Education

59. It is an indisputable fact that in the post independence era various governments in the region have devoted a considerable amount of resources and energy in expanding educational opportunities for the young. Enrollment ratios for both sexes at all levels of formal education particularly at the first and second levels have been remarkably increased. In many cases the share of females in total enrollment at the first and second levels have increased at more rapid rates than that of males. However the fact that per cent female, by and large, still lags behind per cent male is mainly due to two factors, namely, the fact that males had a head start over females and as the cost of education increases parents still tend to give higher priority to the education of sons than to the education of daughters. But if one is to be guided by experiences in the past the time will not be too far off when gender parity will be attained, at least at the first level.

60. Many countries are also making efforts of varied degrees of intensity to decrease adult literacy rates and further efforts continue to be made in making literacy functional. Functionality in this respect implies orienting literacy programmes to imparting knowledge and skill in problem solving and increasing the information absorption and information application capacities of the targets of the programme. If such is the orientation of literacy campaigns, they are likely to contribute significantly to raising the productivity of the work force. But literacy is not an end in itself and literacy and numeracy skills acquired, if not put to use, are likely to be forgotten. It is, therefore, imperative, in the context of limited resources available to African nations, to be cautious in selecting target groups in the interest of cost effectiveness. First priority should be given to those who are economically active, in the modern or the traditional sectors. Those persons who are not yet in the labour force by reason of age but who are likely to enter the labour force sooner or later should also be given equally high priority.

61. The most serious problem gender differentials in access to formal and non-formal education poses is not really gender gaps in enrollment ratios. While this should continue to be an important area of concern, more serious, in terms of its impact on female life chances and on their socio-economic status is the built-in discrimination in contemporary educational systems that tends to exclude women from education in science and technology. Because of this exclusionary practice potential talents and special inventive gifts in approximately half of the total human resources are suppressed just because traditional culture assigns secondary status to females in the scheme of stratification. The viciousness of this system is not yet fully realized and the issue of whether man is made to serve culture or vice-versa has yet to be settled.

62. It is against this general background that the question of what strategies should be adopted between now and the year 2000 in order to make education an instrument for the full integration of women in economic and social development efforts should be addressed. A reform of the educational system should focus on the following:

a) Integration of Curricula and Facilities for Both Sexes

63 Separate curricula and facilities for boys and girls implies a kind of apartheid -- a separate and unequal development. Products of such educational institutions have unequal chances in a competitive labour market. The goal of integrating women in economic and social development can only be defeated by such a system. Therefore, in order to reinforce the equalizing mission of modern education steps should be taken to:

(i) abolish systems of education that offer gender specific curricula under separate roofs;

(ii) teaching staff should be recruited on the basis of qualification and competence and not on the basis of their gender;

(iii) subjects such as home management, nutrition, cookery, secretarial science, etc. should be offered equally to membetrs of both sexes;

(iv) subjects such as reproductive processes in all their ramifications should be taught to both males and females.

b) The School as an Environment for Experimentation in Applied Science and Technology

It is the process of early socialization in the family and the school that reinforces the gender based difference in social roles. Boys are directed to male oriented activities and girls to female oriented ones. It is this same world view that prompts educational planners to separate males and females in formal education. This also presupposes differential intellectual endowments between the sexes -- a presupposition that is not empirically born out.

64. If the goal of full integration of women in development is to be attained and if women are to participate in measures to save Africa from the imminent disaster it is currently facing the following actions must be taken by member States without any delay:

(a) educational policy makers and planners should cease to think of schools as mere factories of clerks and bureaucrats;

(b) all children (boys and girls) should be given an early start in working with tools, with putting different objects together, etc. right from the kindergarten level;

(c) any temptation to specify play things and toys for either boys or girls must be resisted and children of both sexes should be permitted to do what their impulses impel them to do;

(d) create opportunities for all children to engage in practical activities such as assisting in gardening, poultry raising (where these are appropriate), in construction related work, making and maintaining tools and other areas pertinent to the socio-economic environment. It is in such situations the children's apptitudes and interests can be determined;

(e) activities of the type suggested in (d) above should be scaled up, at the second level, also increasing opportunities for greater initiative and responsibility;

(f) students should be given opportunities to study traditional tools of agro-production on and manufacturing in other fields work on improving them, test them in field situations under varied conditions, document results and disseminate findings to surrounding communities through an outreach programme.

c) Use of Standardized Apptitude Tests in Tracking Students to Various Areas of Specialization

65. There are no reliable systems in the region by which students are trucked into areas of specialization. Often this important process is left either to chance or to the whims of students and teachers with the consequence that students get into areas of specialization for which they are ill suited. A combination of the educational processes described under (2) above and a judicious use of standardized aptitude tests should enable educators to, objectively, select students for preparation for various scientific endeavours.

d) Establishment of Specialized Institutions for Science and Technology where talented men and women could engage in basic and applied research

66. No country has ever developed without a cadre of scientists continually engaged in basic and applied research. In Africa there is an excessive dependence on research outputs generated by outsiders and under conditions not always necessarily similar to those obtaining in the region. This is the main reason why science and technology in this region is in such an undeveloped state. It is because the opportunities for scientific research are not available at home that many highly educated African men and women prefer to stay abroad where such opportunities and incentives are available to them.

67. Many countries may not be able to have institutions at the required level of sophistication. But it is quite possible for clusters of countries at subregional levels to pool material and manpower resources to establish such institutions. This approach is likely to make significant contributions not only in the training of African scientists but also advance the goal of collective self-reliance set in the Lagos Plan of Action. Among the tasks of such institutions should be to establish co-operative liaisons with institutions of similar missions.

e) Employment

68. In the context of global economic difficulties there is no question that the problems of unemployment and under-employment in the region are getting worse. While this is a problem affecting the entire economically active population, its effect on women is even more serious because in times of difficulties the principle of "last hired first fired" is almost unconciously invoked.

69. On the basis of data for limited number of countries (p.10 above), it has been shown that in countries like the Cameroon and Malawi own account employment and unpaid family work represented the largest source of employment. For Egypt and Tunisia wages and salaries and own account employment also represented the largest source of employment.

70. Assuming that the wages/salary sector would be adversely affected by the current global economic difficulties African countries should place greater reliance on revitalizing the informal sector, particularly the own account sector not only as a highly promising source of employment for both males and females but also as a springboard to more reliable efforts in effecting structural differentiation in the economy.

71. This process of revitalization of the informal sector may be facilitated in the following ways:

(a) organizing through governmental and non-governmental efforts, individual/family operators in rural areas (food and cash crop producers, persons engaged in handicrafts and cottage industries, dairy and poultry producers, persons engaged in fisheries) into co-operatives;

(b) organizing through governmental and non-governmental efforts, persons engaged in retail trade, artisan trade and related activities in urban areas into appropriate types of co-operatives;

(c) establishing an autonomous government agency for the promotion of small scale organized enterprises in production and distribution related activities in both rural and urban areas;

(d) establishing an autonomous government agency for the promotion of small scale organized enterprises in production and distribution related activities in both rural and urban areas;

(e) providing this agency with the necessary technical, manpower and financial resources to enable it to extend to co-operatives and other economic and social groupings assistance in the form of feasibility studies, advice in organizational matters such as planning and implementation of operations; sources of credit, marketing etc.

(f) creating small business support divisions in development banks to provide sufficient financial resources to co-operatives and other forms of economic and social groupings and provide supervision on proper credit utilization;

(g) assisting co-operatives and other forms of economic and social groupings engaged in production and distribution related activities in ways and means of modernizing, increasing and diversifying the scale and scope of their operations;

(h) requiring that eligibility for the kinds of assistance specified above is contingent upon willingness to accept the principle of equal participation of males and females, providing that participants are recruited on the basis of universalistic rather than ascriptive criteria.

f) Machineries for the Realization of the Goals of Integration of Women in Development

72. Nearly all of them face similar problems mostly arising from the liability of newness. Among these problems are inadequacy of financial and manpower resources, low levels of participation by women on account of low levels of education, burdensome chores at home and, in general, the low level of social consciousness of women. These problems are further complicated by the condescending attitudes of males towards women. This attitudes is reflected in machineries being relegated to secondary positions such as being located in a ministry of social affairs which in the African context is generally given low priorities. Those in party structures are often overburdened with ceremonial and political activities.

73. It appears from the Report of the Regional Seminar on National Machineries for the Integration of Women in Development (Addis Ababa, November 1983) that following the Mexico Conference, national machineries have been established in most countries in the Africa Region. There are however considerable variations in the type of machineries and the auspices under which they were established. Some of them were established as arms of ruling political parties and others operate as departments or units in ministries such as social services, culture, youth and sports. In Ivory Coast, Mauritius, Tunisia and Zimbabwe there are ministries for women's affairs.

74. The types of women's activities the machineries promoted, as shown earlier, are still, by and large, of the traditional type -- home-economics, nutrition etc. These are important but national machineries should play more dynamic roles in bringing about structural change that would have as its focus women not as mere cooks and baby sitters but as active participants and decision-makers in production and distribution related activities. Virtually no attempt is made to change the nature and philosophy of African education except to press for the increase in enrollment ratios, which is important but not critical.

75. The establishment of the ATRCW at the ECA headquarters has mitigated the situation to some extent. It is continuing efforts to sensitize policymakers and the people of the region about the critical roles of women in economic and social life through training, research, regional and subregional meetings helps to reorient perspectives and strengthen technical aspects. It has served as a useful monitoring agency in the region even if only to prod governments into doing something.

76. Organizations at the level of MULPOCs do not seem to be doing much in terms of engaging in concrete activities that would make any difference. One would have thought that the subregion is the level at which experimentation on a variety of models of intervention could be undertaken with the aim of having positive results replicated throught the subregion. Further one would have also thought that the MULPOC level organizations would attempt to mobilize resources from internal as well as external sources to mount pilot projects on methods to increase the productivity of female workers in both the traditional and modern sectors and use the results as inputs to policy formulation at national levels.

77. On the basis of experience in the last 9 years it is time now to move into activities that are at once modest ,practical and workable. Problems that have taken root over centuries cannot be eradicated in a decade. The best that can be hoped for during the remaining part of this century is to recast and develop a strong foundation that will be able to carry a more elaborate structure in subsequent decades. What are the roles of national and regional machineries can play in building this foundation.

78. The issue of organizational model is not easy to settle. Given the willingness of governments in the region to proliferate ministers it is almost certain, that with some regional and international persuasion countries will be willing to give such machineries ministerial status. But even this is likely to have the fate of being accorded low priority like ministries of social welfare in many countries. What matters is no matter what the organizational status, what machineries should do to give women a real chance in the war against gender based discrimination. The following may be suggested.

A. National Machineries

(a) Machineries should resist the temptation to spread themselves thin by engaging in too many activities with inadequate manpower and financial resources;

(b) They should rather identify the weakest link in the process of women's integration in development, namely involvement in productive and financially rewarding activities. For example:

(i) mount pilot projects designed to test modalities of intervention that will raise the productivity of women in agriculture, handicrafts, etc.

(ii) the pilot projects should include all components of activity -- supply of appropriate technology, inputs, marketing, etc.

(iii) sponsor experiments in education designed to demonstrate the feasibility of turning the school into a place where children of both sexes are introduced into scientific thinking and developing scientific attitudes;

(iv) sponsor pilot projects to experiment on methods to make schools (seoond level) centres for the development of knowledge and skills in the exploitation of natural resources and also serve as centres of dissemination of such knowledge.

(c) Activities under (b) should be undertaken in conjunction with relevant technical ministries, departments, agencies and on clear understanding and agreement that when pilots and experiments succeed, the relevant ministries,etc. will take over and replicate them throughout the country.

(d) Propose legislative amendments that will remove civil code provisions which bar women from ownership of movable and immovable property and all means of production as a matter of right.

(e) Propose legislation that will remove all existing laws or customary practices that alienate women from the fruits of their labour.

(f) Monitor, advise and warn governments about negative changes affecting women.

B. Machineries at the Regional and Subregional Levels

(a) ATRCW should expand its regional level activities to facilitate experimentation on intervention modalities that are most likely to promote women's contribution to increased productivity in a variety of economic activities.

(b) Assist MULPOC level machineries in developing viable multinational pilot projects in respect to the experiments suggested above and to mobilize necessary resources and expertise to undertake the experiment.

(c) Create mechanisms by which results of such experiments are made available to member States and provide technical assistance to help interested member States to test the modalities of intervention and apply them in their own circumstances.

(d) ATRCW mobilize, through the offices of the Executive Secretary of the ECA and the Secretary General of the OAU, the co-operation of the international community not only in the mounting of pilot projects but also in training persons to assume full responsibility in running the projects.

Conclusion

79. This paper is not intended as a point by point treatment of the areas of action proposed in both the World and the African Plan of Action. The reason for this is the Plan of Action seeks to do too much within a span of a decade. In a culturally sensitive subject such as this one, attempting to do too much in a short time is likely to be counter productive by creating resistances in those who are anxious to maintain the status quo. The most effective strategy is one that will enable women to demonstrate beyond any doubt what they are capable of doing.